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In this part of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life, educational implications of adult activities and goals were explored, with emphasis on effective living in middle life. Performance of adult developmental tasks and motivation toward effort in these areas were investigated. Criteria were offered for assessing high, medium, and low performance in the roles of parent, spouse, child of aging parent, male or female homemaker, worker, user of leisure, church member, club or association member, citizen, and friend. Task performance showed little or no variation by sex, some by age, and much variation by upper middle, lower middle, upper lower, and lower socioeconomic status. Areas of highest motivation were parenthood, work, and leisure; lowest areas were citizenship, church membership, and association membership. Because of generally high motivation and only moderate performance, middle class people appeared most receptive to adult education. A special challenge to adult educational outreach was seen in citizenship and other areas of low motivation and high social need. (An essay on contemporary adult education is included.) (ly)

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ADULT EDUCATION AND ADULT NEEDS

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST
and BETTY ORR

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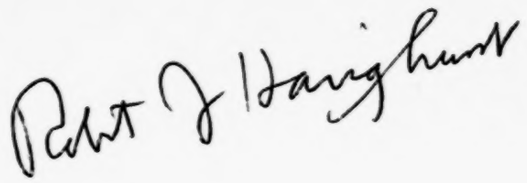
Supplement, 1960:
Adult Education for Our Time
by Robert J. Havighurst

ADULT EDUCATION AND ADULT NEEDS

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST
Professor of Education, University of Chicago
BETTY ORR
Assistant Professor of Education, University of Kansas City

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**



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INTRODUCTION

One of the concerns of the CSLEA since its inception has been to develop research that would strengthen university adult education in its own right. This has led to our publication of studies in the area of adult behavior, programming for adults, and adult teaching. A subsidiary concern has been to stockpile research in adult education so that at any given time a block of relevant knowledge would be available as a guide to the thinking and planning of adult educators. The latter concern has been difficult to satisfy because research in this area has been too discrete and not immediately relevant to adult education. That research which is relevant is not connected with any broad theory or framework of adult behavior. In the absence of any widely accepted systematic theory, the CSLEA has followed the pattern of supporting differing theoretical approaches. By doing this, we hope in a small way to clarify the problems of adult education research. First, we can counteract the tendency to be satisfied with small blocks of unrelated work. Second, we can point out directions being taken in social science research generally that might have significant bearing on adult education. Third, we can attempt to summarize and interpret what has been done. Finally, we can help develop a catalogue of meaningful questions that adult educators ask of themselves and of the world they work in.

However, the confusion and lack of coherence in adult education research is not restricted to adult education. It is a continuing problem of American social science research in general. There has been a widespread suspicion of connecting research with any intellectual tradition. In addition, there is a lack of historical sense

and a cheery optimism about the way the society is developing. Because American social scientists tend to disregard and therefore to re-do what was done before, the history of social science research reveals many false starts and repetitions. Until recently, social scientists rarely approached reality with specific hypotheses concerning various classes of events. Instead, they collected vast quantities of data which appeared conventionally relevant, and then combined them into tables of interrelationship, without any thought of testing or even inferring major hypotheses. This model has been followed in adult education research.

The Kansas City Study of Adult Life, of which the following study is a part, was established by the University of Chicago's Committee on Human development and Community Studies, Inc., a Kansas City social agency. The Kansas City Study is in part heir to the tradition of the earlier community studies, in which attempts were made to describe a community completely and to gather all the relevant information about it. This attempt differed from the main stream of recent social science research; it combined an interest in the larger community with a well-developed skill in the use of social science techniques. An interdisciplinary team evolved explicit hypotheses about what they expected to find.

The authors began with some fairly definite ideas about what the significant social roles were and about what kind of activity constituted them. The "role" concept as used in social science research has consistently been vague, nebulous and non-definitive. This study represents one attempt to give the notion of "role" concrete meaning.

We believe, however, that the study raises some theoretical problems which should be noted. A view of society which understands the primary task of education to be the fitting of the personality into the culture necessarily neglects the question of how appropriate the culture is for the personality. Emphasizing both the fitness of personality for culture and the fitness of culture for

personality approaches permits fruitful conversation to be carried on among the adult educators about the relative merits of both positions.

Some of the questions we would raise that we believe the study leaves largely unresolved and which need further work are:

1. Does the consensus of social philosophers and ethical leaders on role activities constitute a middle class bias? Is there some way to view roles that does not use middle class norms?

2. The emphasis is on the persistent aspects of role behavior. Each aspect of role may be studied in connection with an emphasis on persistence or on change. Is it possible to view the same roles from their dynamic aspects and relate them to adult education?

What we liked about the study was its emphasis upon the whole community, its employment of a disciplinary team, and its development of explicit hypotheses. We believe that the study takes a big stride forward in adult education research.

James T. Carey
Research Associate
Center for the Study of
Liberal Education for Adults

March 1956

I

THE WISDOM OF MATURITY

The goal of adult education is to help people live better. What does "living better" mean, and how can education help people to do it? These are the questions to which this paper is addressed.

To get one kind of answer to these questions we have gone to a group of people and asked them to tell us what their daily life consists of and what seems important to them. We have scrutinized their answers in the light of what the social philosophers have said concerning the good life in America, and on this basis we have made some judgments concerning the degree of success which the various people whom we have studied are achieving in their adult years.

Before reporting the details of this study and its results we shall report some more general conclusions of the study, which will serve to orient the reader.

Adulthood is not all smooth sailing across a well-charted sea with no adventures or mishaps. People do not launch themselves into adulthood with the momentum of their childhood and youth and simply coast along to old age. There are fully as many new problems to solve and new situations to grasp during the adult years as there are during the earlier periods of life. Adulthood has its transition points and its crises. It is a developmental period in almost as complete a sense as childhood and adolescence are developmental periods.

Since we were studying people between the ages of 40 and 70, (with a small supplementary study of people between 25 and 30), we were especially interested in the transitions and crises of middle age. From the study of middle-aged people grew the following set of developmental directions in which a person should grow if he is to be happy and useful to himself and others after the age of 50. Growth along these directions constitutes the "wisdom of maturity."[1]

---

1. This analysis of development in middle age is taken largely from a paper by Robert F. Peck, presented to the Conference on Research on Psychological Aspects of Aging, published by the the American Psychological Association (1956) and edited by John E. Anderson.

1. Valuing wisdom versus valuing physical powers

Decrease in physical vigor and attractiveness must result in feelings of failure and inadequacy unless one learns to accept this as a natural consequence of growing older, and learns to give a higher value to the foresight and judgment that arise from the experience of living. The principal means of coping with life shifts from the use of physical energy to the use of wisdom. By employing this shift one can actually accomplish more than younger people, for one can now concentrate on things that are really important.

For example, a 61-year-old man commented as follows on his leisure pursuits, "I have been athletic all my life. That's what hurts about old age—having to slow down on those things." He was still valuing physical prowess.

Again, a 50-year-old woman, large, with a deep vibrant voice, is rejoicing in her physical powers. Her husband is a railroad man and away from home a good deal. Commenting on her own activities, she laughed,

> "We own nine houses in this block, so I keep track of them and the renters. And I keep house—wash, iron, cook and sew. Right now I'm building a trailer park and I'm having fun with it. I bargain for all the work myself and then I get out there and talk with the fellows and get 'em to do it my way.
>
> "Then I do yard work—raising things. We have a little green-house and for a while we had a business—raising and selling tomato plants. I love to get outside and get my hands in the dirt. You know, I'd love to develop a subdivision—build houses and do all the contracting myself. Most women wouldn't understand that. They'd think I was crazy. But I've got what you might call a masculine mind."

This woman is still vigorous enough to enjoy her physical activity, but the time will come when she will be unable to keep up with herself, physically.

2. Emotional expansion versus emotional constriction.

Middle age is the period when, for most people, parents die,

children leave home, and the circle of friends and relatives of similar age begins to be broken by death. Also, this is the period when sexual activity begins to drop off for the male. All this can mean an impoverishment of emotional life—fewer friends and fewer family members to love and enjoy. But the successful person learns to reinvest his emotions in new friends and other pursuits. When the primary bonds to parents and children are broken by death and departure, there is either emotional constriction or the forming of new emotional bonds. While it may be true that some people are so deeply bound to their parents that they never completely recover from the death of their parents and thus doom themselves to a later life of emotional constriction, this hardly seems true of many middle-aged people today.

There is certainly a possibility of forming new friends and investing emotional capital in new pursuits, for a person at this age generally has a wide circle of acquaintances and has the freedom and the time and financial means to do new things.

A 41-year-old woman, with children aged 17, 14, and 8, said, "Our children are people, not just children. I enjoy them more now that they're past the training age. More and more they become personalities to enjoy." She was making friends out of her children, and thus enriching her emotional life.

Another woman, aged 63, said "When my children left home I knew I had a lot of time and had to learn to be alone. I'd never read much before. I learned to enjoy books and raise flowers. You have to love something and watch it grow." This woman also had recently joined a church and become active in the women's group there.

3. Mental flexibility versus mental rigidity

By middle age one achieves a relatively stable and publicly known set of attitudes on a variety of public and private matters which automatically govern one's behavior and give it a fixed and rigid quality. Since one has usually achieved a degree of worldly success by this time, there is a temptation to coast along on this success, making no effort to examine new circumstances for pos-

sible new answers. In other words, one tends to become rigid.

Yet the changing circumstances of our society call for a degree of open-mindedness and flexibility, both on public and private issues.

A doctor in his 50's said, "I hope to stay in my practice indefinitely: but if something happened that prevented me from practicing I could turn to something else—one of my hobbies. I could run an antique shop."

On the other hand, a 66-year-old woman whose husband is wealthy has settled into a routine which she does not like to have disturbed. She organizes her week on a strict schedule, with a regular engagement at the hairdressers on one day, two luncheons with friends, always held at the same time and place, three afternoon card games, and she reads one political commentator for her views on current issues.

4. Expansion of interests beyond the work role.

The work role is the principal source of satisfaction and feeling of worth for men and many women in our society. Some women adopt the work role after 50 as a substitute for the mother role. But the work role generally lasts only to age 65 or 70 at the most, and its rewards fall off after the age of 60 for most people. Consequently it is important in middle age to expand one's interests beyond the work role so as to get satisfactions out of other activities which formerly came largely through work. This may be done through developing one's leisure activities, or through putting more investment into clubs, church, civic life, home-making, or friends.

The main problem is that of finding sources of self-respect outside of the work role. Americans are so thoroughly work-oriented that it is difficult for some of them to achieve self-respect through competence in any other area of life. A man of 64 said "I have asked our pastor, when he prays, will he pray that St. Peter will give me a good job when I die. That's all I want, a good job in heaven." Somehow one must find some other definition of heaven than that of possessing a "good job," otherwise one is not likely to enjoy his last years on earth.

A 58-year-old man has a hobby of raising flowers. He has 100 varieties of tulips. He looks forward to retirement and a chance to devote all of his time to his avocation.

A 55-year-old accountant has become a leader in his church. He is superintendent of the Church School, and has taken so much interest in religious education that he has attended several state-wide meetings on the subject. His church activities are likely to persist for a considerable period after his company retires him at the age of 65.

5. Body transcendence versus body preoccupation.

The lessening of physical vigor and attractiveness that accompanies middle age comes as a blow to most people because they have invested a great deal of emotional capital in their physical appearance and physical well-being. This blow may be made more devastating by some chronic disease which causes pain or limits activity. It is only sensible that people should maintain their health and physical attractiveness by getting medical advice, by watching their diet, by getting exercise, and by dressing carefully. This much preoccupation with the body is desirable in middle age. But along with it should go a new definition of happiness and comfort in terms of satisfying human relationships and creative mental activities which will survive the physical decline of the body.

A former college athlete, now approaching 55, has had a mild coronary thrombosis. After a period of several months of depression and anxiety over his health, he has taken his doctor's advice to "lead a normally active life, but no more athletics." He does not allow himself to become over-tired, and he watches his weight carefully. Otherwise he is fully active in his work and in his social life, with his friends, and has gotten over the feeling that he is living on borrowed time.

A 49-year-old woman, speaking of the menopause, said, "It's all a state of mind. It didn't bother me. In some ways life is fuller after the menopause. You're mature—really mature then. Not until you've reached that have you really experienced all kinds of life."

II

ADULT NEEDS AND DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

The foregoing general statement of qualities which constitute wise and effective living in middle age should be made more specific in order to apply it to the process of adult education. This we propose to do by considering the developmental needs or tasks of adults in American society.

The judgment that a person is living successfully may be made on either or both of two bases. On the one hand, people may measure up to what is expected of them—they may meet social expectations. They may achieve the tasks of life as these are commonly conceived. On the other hand, people may be judged to live successfully if they measure up to what they expect and want of themselves.

Perhaps the best statement is that people live successfully when they meet social expectations with a sense of freedom and fulfillment.

Social Expectations and the Measurement of Performance on Them

The social expectations which impinge upon an adult in modern society may be described in a limited number of areas of behavior, as follows:

Parent	User of Leisure
Spouse	Church Member
Child of Aging Parent	Club or Association Member
Home-Maker (male or female)	Citizen
Worker	Friend

A person is expected to fill these social roles, and the quality of his life is judged generally by the way he fills these roles. Each role carries with it a kind of socially defined behavior.

Therefore it should be possible to measure the degree to which a person performs creditably in these social roles and thus get a measure of the degree to which he meets the social expectations of his society.

In each of the aforementioned areas it is useful to speak of a person's having to achieve a developmental task. Developmental tasks are the basic tasks of living, which must be achieved if we are to live successfully and to go on with a good promise of success to the later stages of life.

The developmental tasks are set for us by three forces: (1) the expectations of values of our society; (2) the maturing and then the aging of our bodies; and (3) our own personal values or aspirations.

For some of the earlier developmental tasks of life the maturing of the body provides a strong drive and society merely elects and defines the culturally appropriate forms of behavior. For instance, the infant's task of learning to walk, and the child's task of learning to jump, skip, throw a ball and other physical skills have a strong biological motivation, as does the task of finding a mate and getting married for the young man or woman.

But the developmental tasks of the mature adult are much more matters of social expectation and individual aspiration.

To measure performance of these developmental tasks a set of rating scales has been devised by the writers. The scales are based on definitions of "high," "medium" and "low" performance. These rating scales represent what the writers believe to be a consensus of social philosophers and ethical leaders. The performance described as "high" on these scales comes as close to fitting the

ideal expectations of American society as the writers could make it; but it will be recognized by the reader that social expectations differ in different segments of society, and also that there may be some subjectivity in the writers' interpretation of social expectations. The authors have tried to describe "common" or society-wide expectations, and have attempted to avoid expectations which are held by particular regional groups, socio-economic groups, or religious groups.

There certainly are fairly wide-spread expectations in America of the "good parent," the "good husband," "good home-maker," "good citizen," etc. There also are certain ethnic and social variations of these roles. The writers have attempted to exclude these variations, and to hold to the general American definition of good performance in each role. This has been done more successfully in some areas than others. For example the definition of behavior expected in the area of clubs and associations is probably a middle-class definition, and does not have widespread acceptance.

The developmental tasks of adulthood are defined in the following pages. On the basis of these definitions a set of rating scales was constructed, one for each developmental task. The scales ran from 0 to 9, with the middle score of 4 or 5 representing what was conceived as an acceptable or average way of accomplishing a given developmental task: not the best, by any means, but a passable performance.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF MIDDLE-AGED ADULTS

The following description of developmental tasks is for the age-period of about 45 to about 60 years—or middle adulthood. The tasks of young adults, from 20 to 45, are different but fall into the same general categories, and may be visualized by anybody who has experienced adulthood. There are other tasks of later maturity, re-

lated to and growing out of the tasks of middle age as described here. The tasks of middle age are:

1. Setting adolescent children free and helping them to become happy and responsible adults.

*1a. As aunt or uncle, serving as model and, on occasion, as parent-substitute for nephews and nieces.

2. Discovering new satisfactions in relations with one's spouse.

*2a. Working out an intimate relationship with brothers and sisters.

3. Working out an affectionate but independent relationship with aging parents.

4. Creating a beautiful and comfortable home.

5. Reaching the peak in one's work career.

6. Achieving mature social and civic responsibility.

7. Accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age.

8. Making an art of friendship.

9. Making a satisfying and creative use of leisure time.

10. Becoming or maintaining oneself as an active club or organization member.

11. Becoming or maintaining oneself as an active church member.

Success in these tasks consists of wise and effective expenditure of energy in them. These tasks do not have equal importance for the individual as he seeks to live up to the expectations of society or to fulfill his own personal wants.

The basic criterion is to be found in the system of democratic ethics upon which our society is based and which is applied and constantly reinterpreted by social philosophers and ethical leaders.

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*Roles which unmarried people may perform more fully than the average person, as a partial substitution for the roles of parent and spouse.

Associated with this ethical system is a criterion of taste worked out by critics of art, music, letters, and life. However much these leaders of our society may differ on the details, they furnish a consensus on the general features of wholesome social behavior. This consensus may be described as follows:

> Behavior is good (is rated high) if it helps other people to enjoy life.
>
> Behavior is good if it results in enjoyment for the individual, and does no harm to other people.

A high level of energy expenditure on a given task justifies a high rating in most, but not all cases. The quality of the performance is also of great importance in determining the rating. Apathy or absence of energy expenditure always justifies a low rating.

A high level performance has an element of creativity in it. The person operating at a high level on a given task does so with a flair, with an apparent ease than hides the true amount of energy with creativity which has gone into the performance. This is what separates virtuosity from hardworking mediocrity.

The life tasks of middle age will be defined in terms of behavior at three levels—that of high level or successful performance in modern American society, that of average performance, and that of failure or low performance.

1. Setting Adolescent Children Free and Helping Them to Become Happy and Responsible Adults

Nature of the Task

Children are reaching adulthood and establishing their own homes, families, and careers. Parents can help in this process or hinder it. The task is hard for some parents, particularly women, because they have invested so much of themselves in the parent-child relationship, and have gotten so many satisfactions out of

having children dependent on them. The artistic performance of this task includes giving the children a lift even though they do not realize it; enhancing their self-confidence by being confident of their success; supporting their efforts to prepare for and assume their positions as adults.

The major qualitative factor in a high level performance as a parent is that of growing toward a less dominant position in relations with one's children while maintaining a relationship which continues in an affectional way to be close but not binding.

High

Gets along with children on terms of growing equality. Has aided or permitted children to make independent choices of: place to live, job to take, person to become engaged to or marry, clothes to wear, college to enter, special field in college. Has become less dominant in relations with children during past 10 years. Spends less time with children than 10 years ago. If he supports children financially, does so unobtrusively and in a matter of fact way, without using this as a means of subordinating the child.

He does not interpret children's independent activities and choices as indicating a loss of intimacy. Rather, he gives evidence of his own confidence in the fact that there are ways in which he can depend on his children to meet his needs—to let him know what is happening to them and that they are actively interested in what is going on in his life.

Medium

Has definitely encouraged or permitted children to become independent in one or more areas, such as choice of friends, job, vocational choice, place to live; but retrains a strong, almost compulsive interest in these matters and seeks, often by subtle means, to influence children. Feels that his judgment is better than that of

children on important topics. Occasionally gives unasked advice, based on his wisdom or superior power.

Low

A. Dominates children, seeks to make decisions for them. Tries to keep them at home. Prevents them from having independence-building experiences—such as buying own clothes, choosing school or college courses, choosing friends, taking separate vacations from that of family.

B. Indifferent to or rejects children. Sees little or nothing of them. Does not give them emotional support. Takes no responsibility for them.

1a. As Aunt or Uncle, Serving as a Model and, On Occasion, as Parent-Substitute for Nephews and Nieces

Nature of the Task

This task is described as an alternative to the parental task, because the avuncular (aunt or uncle) relation seldom becomes important except when a person does not have children of his own. In this situation, many people take to some extent the role of parent for their nephews or nieces or for neighbors' children.

High

Gets along with nephews or nieces on terms of growing equality. Serves them as a model for the development of their ego-ideal. Encourages them toward independence if placed in the position of parent-substitute. May assist financially in their education.

Medium

Has a pleasant but casual relationship with nephews and nieces.

Sees them rarely. Remembers them at Christmas time.

Low

A. Rejects any relations with nephews and nieces.

B. Interferes with nephews and nieces, attempting to assume a parental role and to dominate children. Tends to discredit the children's parents.

2. Discovering New Satisfactions in Relations With One's Spouse

Nature of the Task

As children grow up and become independent, father and mother have more time for each other. At the same time, they need each other more because they are losing some of the satisfactions of parenthood, and because they face the threats of physical aging. In this situation, they may re-establish some of the romantic behavior which dropped out of their lives as their children took up more of their time. They may go on trips together. They find new resources in each other.

High

Supports spouse emotionally at times when the latter suffers threats to self-esteem such as loss of physical attractiveness, demotion on the job, lessening of physical vigor, recognition that ambitions will never be realized. In social groups it is evident that the husband (wife) encourages spouse and sets her (him) off to good advantage.

Reports that he and spouse have a good understanding of one another; feel "close." Indicates satisfaction with the amount of time spent together which includes a variety of shared activities and interests.

Changes, such as children leaving home or in work status or health, are seen as affecting both of them and as mutual problems of adjustment. Plans for the future are mutual.

Medium

Things go along pretty much as in the past, with the couple getting along well together, but turning outward to new activities and to friends as they become free from responsibilities to their children (rather than turning more to each other). Husband (wife) does not feel any closer to spouse than 10 years earlier, and observers do not notice any closer relation.

In general, feel settled in the pattern of their relationship. Strong shared interests are home, children, and perhaps church. Regards certain areas of leisure, social and associational contact as being quite separate from his role as a husband or wife.

Low

Husband and wife tend to regard each other as people living in the same household, with fairly impersonal expectations of one another. With the children grown and away, feels that the only tie of consequence that holds them together is being loosened. Interests and activities are widely separated. Reports dissatisfaction with, and resentment of, spouse's behavior; disillusionment with marriage. Or may simply indicate that he has become resigned to a life of little intimacy and no emotional support.

2a. Working Out an Intimate Relationship with Brothers and Sisters

Nature of the Task

This task is presented as an alternative to the task of intimacy with one's spouse because it becomes especially important for

unmarried people, though it could hardly be said to replace the relation of marriage. Normally one's relationship to brothers and sisters as an adult involves an intimacy based on long-term contact and the sharing of deeply important experiences. With the coming of middle age, siblings can give one another some of the emotional support which they might have secured from a spouse.

High

Supports sibling emotionally at times when the latter suffers threats to self-esteem such as loss of physical attractiveness, demotion on the job, lessening of physical vigor. Lives with sibling and shares in social activities. Retains independence and leaves sibling to be independent. Shares responsibility for aging parents.

Medium

Casual relations with siblings. Friendly sharing of family interests, including care of aging parents. Communication limited by distance or by preoccupation with other relationships. Some feeling of strain, going back to earlier sibling rivalries when a child.

Low

A. Rejection and avoidance.

B. Attempts to maintain sibling relationships of childhood, with rivalry, domination, quarreling, and jealousy.

3. Working Out an Affectionate But Independent Relationship to Aging Parents

Nature of the Task

People of 45 to 60 generally have parents who are beginning to show and to feel their age. At this point it becomes desirable for

adult children and aging parents to reorganize their relationships. The adult children must find ways of maintaining an affectionate and friendly but neither dependent nor dominant relation. And eventually, if the aging parents lose their health or their grasp of the world, the adult children will have to take some responsibility for them. This task requires a delicate touch, an ability to be objective, a basic love of one's parents.

High

Keeps in close personal touch with aging parent or parents, by visits, letters, or actually living together. Knows what the needs of parents are, and gradually assumes responsibility for them as they lose independence. Has thought through the problem of living or not living with them.

In face-to-face relations is affectionate without being either dominating, or dependent like a child. Is realistic in evaluating their capabilities and their position in life.

Medium

Feels ambivalent toward parents. Tries to be friendly, understanding, and affectionate; but finds the old child-parent relationship getting in the way, with parents attempting to dominate and child either giving in or resisting, with considerable emotional involvement either way. Feels more comfortable when away from them; but feels obligated to them. If obliged to give them physical care or financial support, does this with feelings of strain. May live at a great distance from parents, and have little communication with them.

Low

A. Manages parents' lives for them, in such ways as to make them feel weak, helpless, or resentful. Does not respect them as

individuals. Treats them as children.

B. Rejects aging parents. Has nothing to do with them. Is hostile to them, or indifferent. Accepts no responsibility for them.

4. Creating a Beautiful and Comfortable Home (For Men and Women)

Nature of the Task

By this time in life the financial condition of a person is as good as it is likely ever to be. He is likely to own his own home, his children are no longer destructive of furniture and of lawns and flower-beds. Thus, he is in a position to make a really beautiful home, on whatever scale he happens to live. He can create a home which is a positive pleasure to himself and his spouse as well as to his friends. The home becomes a place full of enjoyment and of comfort, inside and outside, house or apartment, in city or open country.

High

Female. Takes full responsibility for running the house—for planning, buying, housekeeping. Makes home a comfortable place in terms of material standards. Gets real satisfaction from achieving proficiency as a cook, house-keeper, seamstress, etc., and regards at least one of these as her special talent. Some of her principal leisure activities coincide with this role (sewing, weaving, gardening, entertaining family and friends, etc.)

Male. Interested in physical upkeep of home. Looks after lawn or garden. Helps plan the decoration of the home, and gets creative satisfaction from the physical aspects of the home. Sees himself as a real partner in planning for the home. Takes an active interest in the appearance of the interior and gets positive enjoyment from

working in the yard, gardening, repairs on the house, fixing things around the home. These are seen as leisure activities. Is willing to perform tasks usually thought of as women's tasks.

Medium High

Interested in home but has only average talent of skill in home-making; or talented and skilled in home-making but places other interests first.

Medium

Female. Sees her major role as one of home-maker but views her tasks as fairly routine obligations. Accepts her tasks; occasionally finds enjoyment in some of them. May have a consistent interest in one task which she regards as her special talent. Meets minimum requirements for a good home in the material sense. Keeps it neat. Prepares food acceptably. Attends to household routines. But chief interest is not home-making.

Male. Makes some effort to attend to the physical up-keep of the home— repairs, yard work, etc. But does this as a fairly routine expectation and not with any great sense of enjoyment or creative satisfaction. As a rule, doesn't help with the routines of housekeeping. Regards them as a "woman's job" but occasionally, as a distinct favor, may help.

Low

Female. Keeps a slovenly house. Stays away from home as much as possible. Or if around the house, "lets it go" because of apathy or as a result of giving most of her time and attention to other interests. Lacks both skill and interest in the main tasks of home-making. If living in another's home, takes no interest in it.

Male. Feels no responsibility for his home; views it merely as

a roof over his head and not as something to be cared for. He shuns all tasks associated with the maintenance or improvement of his home; takes no interest in any of the aspects involved in cooperative living.

5. Reaching the Peak of One's Work Career (Men and Employed Women)

Nature of the Task

In the American economy men and women are usually seeking promotion until they reach the age of 50. After about that age, few people advance to positions of greater power or income. Nevertheless, there is still real progress to be made in one's career. By this time one can often become more relaxed about the quality of his work, and can put in the extra touches that denote real virtuosity on the job. One has more choices to make, more freedom of choice in his job. One can often cut down on quantity of production in order to improve quality. Ethical discriminations can be made as a basis for deciding what aspects of one's work to do most carefully.

High

Present job holds an important place in his work career—probably regarded as the high point. He has a feeling of working productively and efficiently, with materials or people, whether in a position of authority or of low status.

Is well satisfied with his choice of vocation. Derives satisfaction from it in terms of feeling secure about his contribution and value of his services. Feels that he is using his talents and pursuing his interests. Gets some of the following satisfactions from his work: prestige, self-respect, feeling of being of service, enjoyment of friendships made at work, feeling of being creative, new

and interesting experience.

Medium

Gives an average performance on his job, and is average in his attitudes toward work. May get his principal satisfactions from work but is more likely to find more satisfaction in some other area. Whatever his rank may be in the work hierarchy, he is regarded by his colleagues as an average person. Still, he is holding his own in the competition for job status.

Talks about his job in a perfunctory manner. Gets along in his job and holds it by performing at the level demanded by his employer. Does not indicate any feelings of particular competency or skill. Manifests little special pride in—or enthusiasm for—his individual job or in the organization for which he works. Sees the major job satisfactions as the security of seniority and the pay-check.

Just Below Medium

Has passed his prime in his work career and is on the downgrade, by reason of aging, or of poor health, or of decrease of skill. Carries less responsibility on the job than formerly.

Low

A. Has allowed his work to "get him down." Tries desperately hard, but cannot keep up with the demands of his work. Is losing ground rapidly in his work career. Is anxious about this, and may have psychosomatic responses such as headache, fatigue, depression.

B. Frequent change of jobs which isn't explainable in terms of work career. Is indifferent to his work, neglects it and does so poorly that he cannot hold steady employment.

6. Achieving Mature Social and Civic Responsibility

Nature of the Task

The best test of maturity in American life is the test of citizenship. Citizenship requires a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of people at distant times and places. It requires an imaginative grasp of the consequences of political, economical and social action. This is hardly expected of a young adult, who is generally supposed to be busy with the more immediate tasks of establishing a happy home, rearing children, and getting established in a work career.

As these tasks are achieved, a person gains both the time and the perspective for taking social and civic responsibility. Excellent achievement involves a rational approach to political problems, a willingness to learn, and an ethical commitment to democracy.

The task of the citizen has a significant bearing on most of the other tasks because through civic action, other tasks can be made easier. For example, if there is severe unemployment in a society, the task of becoming an effective worker and earner may be almost impossible of achievement for many men unless they, as citizens, solve the basic problems which cause unemployment.

High

Has an active part in one or more organizations which seek to aid on civic and political problems in community, state, nation, or world. These may be political or civic organizations. Gives freely of time and/or money to such enterprises. Reads widely and enjoys discussing civic affairs and politics. Sees the "power groups" in the society fairly clearly and knows where he stands in relation to them. Understands the extent of his own influence and works with-

in these limits for his political and economic goals. Definitely pays attention to the common good in his reasonings about issues, even to the extent of some immediate self-sacrifice.

Medium

Maintains an apparent interest in civic and political affairs, but needs the stimulation of election campaigns and controversies to keep his activity going. Professes little or no interest in politics as such. Feels it his duty to vote and does so regularly but somewhat mechanically.

May lend support to, and is favorably inclined toward, some civic organizations, but takes no active part. Has some awareness of neighborhood problems but feels helpless in doing anything about them. Depends on "them" (city government and community leaders) to initiate and carry out improvements.

Low

A. Has a single, selfish goal for which he works politically, such as tax reduction, rights or privileges for his own social or economic group. Is cynical about "civic responsibility."

B. Indifferent to civic activity or rejects it. Self-centered and isolated from such matters. Does not belong to civic organizations. Seldom or never votes. Never reads or discusses such matters. Never reads about or discusses government or community problems. Rarely, if ever, votes.

7. Accepting and Adjusting to the Physiological Changes of Middle Age

Nature of the Task

The inevitable physical changes of Middle age threaten and in-

sult the ego. Men and women must recognize that they are losing physical attractiveness, and this in a society which places a high value on the human body as a young and vigorous and good-looking organism. The task is a two-fold one: first, to retain as much attractiveness and vigor as possible; second, to shift one's ego ideal toward the qualities of mind and personality which do not deteriorate in middle age.

High

Has a medical examination at least once a year. Has kept his weight from increasing more than 10 per cent since age 40. Seldom overeats. Eats a fairly well-balanced diet containing principally protein, green vegetables and fresh fruit. Wears bifocal or reading glasses if these have been advised by a doctor. Has some physical exercise, but has definitely dropped some of the more strenuous kinds of physical activity practiced 20 years earlier. Does not express great concern over his (her) lessened physical attractiveness. Dresses comfortably and attractively. Keeps teeth in good repair. Does not smoke or drink excessively.

Medium

A. Ignores his health unless he feels ill, when he sees a doctor. Eats too much and has increased his weight more than 10 per cent since age 40. May smoke or drink to excess. May overdo physical exercise in an effort to retain his feeling of youth. Or, may have given up exercise completely. Diet contains more starch, fat, and sweets than is considered wise by dietitians.

B. May feel sorry for himself over his loss of physical attractiveness and overdo things in an effort to appear youthful with the aid of cosmetics and youthful-appearing clothes.

Low

B. Is over-anxious about his health. Goes from one doctor to another seeking emotional support. Complains of being unwell. Is depressed over his health.

B. Has allowed himself to "go to seed" physically. Has grown fat and flabby. Seems older than his actual age. Does not try to appear his best.

8. Making an Art of Friendship

Nature of the Task

Friendship is a different thing at different ages. Perhaps for married people with children, it is least enjoyable in early adulthood, when the family-centeredness of life makes friends seem superfluous at times. Furthermore, there is often an ulterior motive in friendships in early adulthood, when young people look over the field carefully and try to choose friends who will be a social asset. These things change with middle age, when people can really enjoy their old friends, with no concern about social aggrandizement, and with the pleasures that come from long acquaintance. Moreover, new friends can be found and friendships made on the basis of values that one knows to be really satisfying. Thus it is possible to cultivate the art of friendship, as it seldom is possible in earlier years.

High

Has an active social life with friends of both sexes. Visits friends and is visited in return. When together with friends, does things with them which are mutually agreeable—such as play games, read or discuss plays, have parties. Belongs to at least one informal friendship group or clique which does some of the aforesaid

things together, or goes on picnics, fishing and hunting parties, card parties, etc. Gives as well as receives in social relations. Accepts at least a few people into rather intimate sharing of feelings. Considers himself a friendly person—one who places great value on his friendships.

Medium

Has a few friends of fairly long standing, whom he sees at least once a week. They tend to be neighbors, or fellow workers or church or club members. Sees them casually but seldom plans anything with them. Most of this friendship activities are casual ones, due to propinquity. Does not share feelings intimately with friends. Would, however, try to be sympathetic with one of his "friends" who was in trouble, and would accept emotional support from "friends" when in trouble.

Low

No more than casual, impersonal relations with acquaintances and neighbors, at drug store, tavern, church, etc. Has no one in whom he can confide. Is unable to give or receive emotional support from "friends." Spends much time either alone, or with family. Seldom seen in company with other people. Is a fringer, or an isolate, in the sociometric sense.

9. Making a Satisfying and Creative Use of Leisure Time

Nature of the Task

Most people find that they have more spare time after 50 than before 50. Their children do not take much of their time, and their work is generally less demanding. This is often an unmitigated tragedy, for they do not know what to do with their leisure.

The task of using leisure time well is probably less well performed and at the same time more important for happiness than most of the other tasks of middle age. For it is through leisure-time satisfactions that one may hope to find substitutes and rewarding alternatives to the dwindling satisfactions that derive from work and from children.

High

Spends enough time at some leisure activity to be rather well known among his associates in this respect. But it is not so much the amount of leisure activity as the quality of this activity which gives him a high rating. He has one or more leisure activities for which he gets public recognition and appreciation. Chooses his leisure activities autonomously, not merely to be in style. Gets several of the following types of satisfaction from leisure: feeling of being creative, novel and interesting experience, sheer pleasure, prestige, friendship, sense of being of service.

Medium

Has two or three leisure activities which he does habitually and enjoys mildly—reading, TV, radio, watching sports, hand work, etc. May do one of these things quite well or quite enthusiastically, but not more than one. Gets definite sense of well-being from leisure activities, and is seldom bored with leisure. Leisure activities are quite patterned—do not show a great deal of variety.

Low

A. Apathetic about leisure time. Makes no attempt to use his leisure hours for developing interests. Just sits and loafs.

B. Tries anxiously to find interesting things to do and fails to find them. Is bored by leisure and hurries back to work. Dislikes vacations, and cannot relax.

10. Becoming or Maintaining Oneself as an Active Club or Association Member

Nature of the Task

Membership in clubs or other associations is not widespread among Americans, if we make an exception of church associations. Yet it gives great satisfaction to the minority of people who do belong to such organizations. The satisfactions vary, of course, with the nature of the association, which may aim at improving the economic status of its members, at promoting some charitable or educational cause, at improving the community, at raising the standards of occupational performance in a vocation, or simply at promoting friendship and fellowship among its members. People who belong to the associations tend to increase their memberships and intensify their participation as they reach middle age.

A really high level performance in this area involves discrimination in the joining of associations, greater activity and responsibility in certain ones which the person regards as especially important to him, and a sense of personal satisfaction rather than of duty-doing in this activity.

High

Belongs to two or more associations of a social, business, professional or civic nature. (Labor union, fraternal order, women's club, service club, social club, professional association, church social or service society.) Attends meetings, and has some responsibility, as officer or committee member, in at least one association. Gets personal satisfaction from club activity and a sense of fulfillment in the utilization of his interests and talents. Exercises discrimination in club activity. Is not an indiscriminate "joiner" or seeker-for-influence.

Medium

Belongs to no more than one or two associations. Is not a leader, but is a loyal participant. Meets routine expectations of membership, but no more.

Low

Belongs to no association which require any effort of membership. Rejects or is indifferent to such associations.

11. Becoming or Maintaining Oneself as an Active Church Member

Nature of the Task

Although the church is selected for consideration as a separate developmental task, many of the things said about other associations apply here. People in middle age generally hold the more responsible and judicial positions in the church. Their participation as mature adults generally involves association with friends there, working out their social and civic responsibilities partly through the church, and satisfaction from the church worship as well as from the the church fellowship.

High

Active worker in church. Holds responsible position as officer, committee member, or is active as rank and file worker. Gets great personal satisfaction from worship as well as from fellowship of church. Participates in at least two church activities aside from the worship service.

Medium

Church member, attends frequently. Enjoys church fellowship and

gets some satisfaction from worship. Gives financial support. Not an active worker or leader.

Low

Rejects church and religion.

The Kansas City Study of Adult Life

A study of performance on developmental tasks was made as part of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life. This study was made by members of the University of Chicago Committee on Human Development in cooperation with Community Studies, Inc., a Kansas City non-profit research organization which is devoted to making studies that will assist in the progress and betterment of life in the Kansas City area.

The information on which the ratings were made came from 2-hour interviews with a representative sample of men and women aged 40 to 70 and living in the Kansas City metropolitan area. There were interviews with 110 men and 124 women. In addition, there were 20 interviews with young men and women aged 25-30. In the interview we asked them about their work, families, leisure activi-

*The interviews were necessarily superficial, but the people spoke frankly and honestly, as far as we could tell. We did not get into matters of intense personal anxiety, if we could avoid it. Of the sample of names drawn for the study, we interviewed approximately 60 per cent. The remainder consisted either of refusals, people who had moved away or died, or people whom the interviewers were unable to find at home after several trials. The record of interviewing is not as good as we have made in other interview studies, but we believe that there was no systematic bias in the sample finally interviewed, except what would accompany unwillingness to be interviewed on the part of those who refused. The ratings were made by both of the authors, who read the interviews independent of one another. The final rating was the average of the two. The ratings showed correlations between the two raters of .6 to .9, for the various areas.

ties, church and club and union activities, citizenship activity, and their social life with friends. We also asked them how they felt about these activities, and how they had changed in the past ten years, so as to get some understanding of their motives and aspirations. The interview was confidential. We explained that we were trying to get a picture of the ways of life of Kansas City adults.

When the ratings on performance of developmental tasks were studied, the results showed little or no difference between the sexes, a few differences between the older and younger members of the sample, and many differences according to socio-economic status. The average scores of the various sub-groups are shown in Table 1.

The four socio-economic groups may be described as follows:

I. Upper-middle class with a few upper class persons, as defined by Warner and other writers on social class in America.

II. Lower-middle class—White-collar clerical workers, owners of small business, foremen, supervisors, and highly skilled artisans.

III. Upper-lower-class—Regularly employed manual workers, ranging from skilled to semi-skilled. Many factory operatives, truck drivers, and other hard-working people.

IV. Lower-lower class. Mainly unskilled workers, with a few unemployed people and some who were living on public or private charity.

Table 1 shows that the average performance scores decline from Class I to Class IV except in the areas of church activity and of relations with aging parents. Nevertheless, the scores of the various groups overlap almost completely. That is, there are some people of Class IV with high performance scores, and some of Class I with low scores.*

*This may be interpreted as showing that upper-middle class

Table 1 also shows the average scores of the small group of young people who were interviewed and rated according to the same set of rating scales except for adaptation of the "parent" scale. Comparison of the younger group with the middle-aged group shows some interesting differences.

The younger women are tied down much more closely to the home and children, and consequently show lower scores than the middle-aged women in the areas of Leisure, Club membership, Citizenship, and Friendship. They also show lower scores than their husbands in these areas.

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people generally meet the expectations of our society better than the groups below them in the social scale. But a critical reader will ask whether the rating scales did not represent upper-middle class expectations as distinct from lower-class expectations, and thus force the results into this pattern. This is an important question which the authors will discuss elsewhere. But this question is not so important for a consideration of adult education implications, since adult education is mainly a middle-class phenomenon in this country. Therefore, even if the scales should show a middle-class bias, they would be relevant to the study of adult education.

TABLE 1

PERFORMANCE SCORES OF KANSAS CITY ADULTS ON THE DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF MIDDLE AGE

	MEN						WOMEN					
	Age 40— 70				Age 25 - 30*		Age 40 - 70				Age 25— 30	
	Social Class				Social Class		Social Class				Social Class	
Area	I	II	III	IV	I	II-III	I	II	III	IV	I	II-III
Parent	6.00	5.50	5.21	3.90	5.7	5.8	6.44	5.48	5.88	4.84	6.9	5.9
Spouse	6.00	5.57	4.87	4.13	7.2	5.1	6.17	5.94	5.46	3.62	5.8	4.5
Child of Aging Parent	5.89	6.06	5.89	5.00			5.75	5.90	5.94	5.75		
Home-maker	5.64	5.70	5.55	4.38	6.1	5.7	5.93	4.86	5.40	3.68	5.8	4.8
Worker	7.31	5.67	5.36	3.54	7.9	6.1	6.25	5.97	4.50	3.61		
Leisure	5.97	5.64	4.21	3.50	7.0	5.1	6.32	5.05	4.33	2.66	4.7	3.9
Church Member	4.19	3.39	3.19	3.06	5.6	3.1	4.70	3.57	4.23	4.18	5.2	2.1
Club and Ass'n.	5.55	3.03	2.47	1.89	4.6	4.5	5.13	2.34	1.91	0.84	2.5	0.5
Citizen	5.21	4.11	3.64	3.44	5.8	3.5	4.57	4.01	3.06	3.91	4.0	2.6
Friend	5.27	4.38	4.02	3.75	5.5	4.6	6.32	4.59	3.85	2.52	4.9	2.5

Note: Scores range from 0 to 9, for individuals. A score of 4 to 5 is thought to indicate an acceptable performance, by general societal standards.

*The average performance scores for young adults, age 25-30, are included here. They have not been interpreted in the text because the smallness of the 25-30 sample precludes definitive comparisons with the 40-70 year old group. In the young adults sample, a working class group, composed of Class II and III people was interviewed.

III

PERSONAL MOTIVATION FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

We have said that a developmental task is set for a person both by the expectations of his society and by his own aspirations and ideals. These tend to coincide, but not perfectly. When the social expectation or demand is intense, a person feels this and tends to respond by a strong desire to do his best. But the social expectation is not equally intense for all developmental tasks, and the ordinary person is likely to try harder on some tasks than others, depending on his own desires and abilities as well as on social pressure. Thus his own motives or aspirations will tend to determine the way he distributes his energy.

Accordingly, we attempted when reading the interviews to assess the degree of motivation or desire for achievement that the individual felt in relation to each developmental task. Table 2 presents the results of the Motivation study. The individual was rated 3, 2, or 1 on motivation. He was rated 2 in most areas, 3 in the one or two areas where his personal motives seemed strongest, and 1 in the one or two areas where his motives were weakest. If he seemed to be operating at a kind of dead level of motivation in most areas, he might be rated 2 in those areas and 3 in only one area. He was always rated 3 in at least one and no more than two areas. Similarly he was rated 1 in at least one and not more than two areas of his lowest motivation.*

*We also made a set of ratings on the degree of motivation a person showed in comparison with other people in each area. These ratings are not reported here. They follow in general the trend of performance scores on the developmental tasks.

The areas of highest motivation are those of parent, work, and leisure, while those of lowest motivation are those of citizen, church member, and club and association member.

There is a decrease of motivation with decreasing socio-economic-status in the areas of work, citizenship, clubs and associations, and leisure (women). The only consistent age change in motivation for the 40 to 70 group is a decrease in motivation for clubs and associations with increasing age.

In the case of motivation for achievement of developmental tasks, as in the case of performance, there are great differences between individuals within social class and age groups. Thus some lower-class people show high motivation for work or citizenship, even though on the average the lower-class group shows less motivation in these areas then the upper-middle group.

The Teachable Moment

Certain developmental tasks come with great urgency to a person during a relatively short period of time. At this time one's motive to learn is intense, and education is extremely effective. For instance, a young husband and wife with their first-born baby are intensely anxious to learn about child-rearing, so that they will be likely to join a course for young parents and to learn quickly from it. This might be called a teachable moment in their lives. They will learn much more quickly about child-rearing at this time than they would have learned from a high school or college course in the subject.

Are there similar teachable moments for other developmental tasks of adulthood? There are such periods whenever a person faces a developmental task in a new situation demanding a quick response. For instance, a 50 year-old couple may decide to build their own home, after living in a city apartment for years. This is

TABLE 2

MOTIVATION SCORES OF KANSAS CITY ADULTS ON DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF MIDDLE AGE

	MEN						WOMEN					
	Age 40 - 70				Age 25 - 30		Age 40 - 70				Age 25 - 30	
	Social Class				Social Class		Social Class				Social Class	
Area	I	II	III	IV	I	II-III	I	II	III	IV	I	II-III
Parent	2.15	2.28	2.23	2.13	2.3	2.8	2.35	2.36	2.50	2.38	3.0	3.0
Spouse	2.15	2.16	2.11	2.07	2.1	2.1	2.27	2.24	2.13	2.04	2.1	2.0
Child of Aging Parent	1.89	1.84	1.89	1.80			1.88	2.03	1.94	2.00		
Home Maker	2.00	2.08	2.21	2.19	1.9	2.0	2.08	2.18	2.36	2.14	2.3	2.2
Worker	2.71	2.37	2.38	1.96	2.9	2.5	2.75	2.35	2.18	2.11		
Leisure	2.34	2.45	2.21	2.38	2.3	2.1	2.45	2.35	2.13	1.98	2.0	2.0
Church Member	1.76	1.70	1.56	1.78	1.8	1.4	1.88	1.73	2.04	2.27	2.3	1.8
Club & Ass'n.	2.03	1.55	1.48	1.50	1.8	2.0	1.92	1.49	1.43	1.11	1.6	1.0
Citizen	1.85	1.73	1.76	1.56	1.6	1.3	1.62	1.61	1.50	1.41	1.1	1.4
Friend	1.84	1.89	1.92	1.91	2.0	2.0	2.05	2.00	1.87	1.73	2.1	1.7

Note: A score of 2 indicates average motivation of a person with respect to himself.

a moment when the task of creating a beautiful and comfortable home comes to them with great urgency. They can learn more and faster at this time, because their own motivation is high and because they must take some action soon.

Other teachable moments are likely to come in the mid-fifties, at the "turning point of maturity," when major changes of life are occurring. There may be a new accretion of leisure at this time, with children grown and leaving the home, with the man's job making less demand on him, and with money enough to do a variety of things. Thus the task of making a constructive use of leisure may have a teachable moment at this time.

Or a woman may become an officer of a civic organization and therefore may need to learn rapidly how to conduct a meeting, to work through committees, and so on.

The task of citizenship offers few major teachable moments, but it does provide minor ones in connection with crises of local and national and international affairs, raising the motivation of people to sudy such matters as a local problem of conserving property and human values in a city neighborhood which is threatened with civic blight; or a "great debate" on a momentous issue of foreign policy.

IV
IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

From the data on performance of developmental tasks and on motivation for them, it is possible to derive some implications for adult education.

Areas of Social Need

There is a social need for improved performance of the developmental tasks of adulthood whenever a considerable group of people fall below the level of average or passable performance. For instance, the average performance score of men on the task of citizenship is 4.19 and of women 3.56. Taking 4.5 to indicate the level of passable performance, this means that more than half of the men and women fall below a passable performance as citizens. Thus there is a need for more active, interested, and informed citizens. By the same reasoning there is a considerable social need for better performance in the areas of church membership, friendship, and club membership. However, before drawing such conclusions the rating scales themselves should be inspected carefully to find out whether they may not be defining the "passable level" higher than the social philosophers and ethical leaders of the country would consider reasonable. Probably the scale we have used does set too high a passable standard in the case of club and association membership, but certainly not in the case of citizenship.

From the consideration of performance scores alone one can list the developmental tasks of adulthood in a series from that with the lowest average score to that with the highest. This would be a crude way to get an order of "social need" for adult education. But

this overlooks the fact that some areas are intrinsically more important and valuable both to the individual and to society than other areas. Even though performance on the task of parenthood averages 5.3 for men and 5.7 for women, indicating that only a minority of men and women fall below the mid-point on this scale, it may be more important to push adult education in this area than in the area of leisure activity, where the average scores are somewhat lower. Clearly, there are other things to be considered in determining the importance of educational effort in a given area than the present level of people's performance in that area. There are questions of the relative importance of the area of society and to the individual, the relative effectiveness of educational efforts in the area, and so on.

From the consideration of performance scores on developmental tasks it is possible to say that the average performance of people is better in some areas and words in other areas. This should be useful in planning strategy for adult education, but it is not a sufficient basis for such strategy.

Areas of Motivation

Another factor in the planning of adult education is the conscious need or motivation of a person to improve himself. From our study of motivation we see that the principal areas of high conscious need are those of parent, worker, and user of leisure, while those of low conscious need are citizenship, clubs and associations, and church activity.

Combinations of Social Need and Personal Motivation which Offer Opportunity to Adult Education

If a person has a strong feeling of need to perform a particular task better, that of being a parent, for example, and if his pres-

ent performance is average or below average, indicating a social need that he perform better, he is in a favorable position to take advantage of education in this area. He wants to do better, and th people around him want him to do better. Hence he seeks help, by education or otherwise, to make himself a better parent.

Reasoning on this basis, it appears that certain combinations of social need and personal motivation will offer the best opportunities for adult education energies.

We venture the following scheme as an index to the potentialities (but not the importance) for adult education in the various developmental task areas. High performance of a group means low social need, since most people are already doing well. High motivation combined with medium performance would be a most promising situation for adult education, since it means that people want to improve themselves and are only doing an average or passable job now, leaving a good deal of room for improvement.

Performance	Possibilities for Education	Motivation or Conscious need
High	Good	High
High	Poor	Medium
High	Poor	Low
Medium	Very good	High
Medium	Fair	Medium
Medium	Poor	Low
Low	Fair	High
Low	Poor	Medium
Low	Very poor	Low

While the areas of low performance leave a great deal of room for improvement and therefore might seem to offer a good possibility for education the very fact of low performance among adults generally means that a person has tried and failed and has become defensive about it, or that a person has a very low ability in this

area. No matter how high a fat man's motivation, he will not be able to run a hundred yards in 11 seconds. Therefore the person with high motivation combined with low performance is likely to be only a fair prospect for education.

From the foregoing scheme, then, it appears that the best possibilities for adult education lie in areas where people in general are doing an average or good job now and are highly motivated to do a good job. The poorest possibilities are those where most people have a very low level of motivation or conscious need, no matter how good or poor their performance is. Or, to speak of people instead of areas of living, the people most likely to be attracted to an adult education program in a given area of living are those whose performance is already medium to high while their motivation is high.*

The hypothetical scheme might be improved by adding a third concept—that of intensity of social expectation. In areas of high social expectation or social demand, personal motivation tends to be increased and the educational possibilities become better. For instance, during wartime the social demand for civic loyalty and sacrifice for the common good increases enormously, which in turn increases personal motivation and thus increases the response to adult education programs in the area of citizenship. On the other hand, where social expectations are low, as in the case of club and association membership (most people feel very little social obligation to take part in clubs or associations) personal motivation is

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*An example of the foregoing scheme, taken from another branch of adult education, is that of the adoption of new farming and home-making practices under the influence of the extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It has been found that the people who adopt new practices tend to be those who have a history of successful farming (high performance) and of previous interest in improvement (high motivation).

generally low and performance is low, and educational efforts to increase participation in associations are not likely to be successful. Perhaps this sort of thing is true in the Soviet Union with respect to religious or church activity. The social expectation is low, therefore personal motivation is low, performance is low, and educational efforts to increase church attendance (if they were permitted by the authorities) would have little success. But in Kansas City, where church going is generally thought to be desirable (social expectation is high), motivation is generally higher, and an educational program aimed at getting more people into church activity would have a relatively good chance of success.

Let us remind the reader that we are not here considering what the adult educator should do, but what he can do. Questions of the importance of the educator's working to get people to attend church, to buy war bonds, to vote regularly, to treat their children better, to enjoy literature, and so on are not answered entirely by counting the numbers of people who do or do not do these things already. While it helps him to know how well people are doing these things now, and therefore how much his efforts are needed, he still must decide on other bases what things are most important for him to teach.

Illustrative Cases of Combinations of Performance and Motivation

The following summaries of several interviews illustrate various combinations of performance and motivation, and can be interpreted to indicate how much chance there would be for adult education with these particular people.

Case A is a business man who is engaged in educational activities in connection with his church work, and who has high motivation in the areas of parenthood, work and leisure. Through his reading he keeps up with work and church interests, but he does not

take part in any formal study programs outside of his church work. It might be said of him that his interest in the church has organized his learning experiences which have, in turn, made him a better citizen, user of leisure, and parent. The interview suggests that he would be an active, seeking person, even if he were not wrapped up in church work, and that if his enthusiasm for church work should wane, he would probably get into some other activity with strong educative and self-improvement aspect.

Here is a man who also exemplifies positive growth toward the "wisdom of maturity."

Case A Average Performance—High Motivation
(Man, Age 43, Upper-middle Class)

Mr. Jameson is a man with a pleasant appearance and a relaxed manner. He might seem older than his forty years because he is balding, and his heavy-set physique appears to have given way easily to a "middle-aged spread." There is something of a stolidity and introspectiveness in his manner that might impress one as being at odds with the prototype of a successful sales manager.

Mr. Jameson has always lived in Kansas City. His father was a business executive and Mr. Jameson grew up with the notion that he, too, would become a businessman. He attended the state university and Northwestern, receiving his degree in Business Administration. He played football in college, also earned letters in boxing and wrestling.

When asked whether he was satisfied with the education he had had, Mr. Jameson said, "Now I wish that I'd had more of an academic education—courses in the arts, literature, grammar, English. A more complete background. I lack knowledge, except in the field I'm in. A more general education would have been valuable.

Of course, I didn't know it at that time—at the time I was in college."

Mr. Jameson talked along easily about his career, his family, his interests. The following excerpts from the interview give a picture of him and his role living.

"I've had seven jobs in all, all related to the work I do now. I'm a sales consultant—bought a partnership in this firm seven years ago. Before that, I changed jobs every year or two, always for the better I think. This is the best job I've ever had, all in all. The best income, too ($18,000). I work with various companies—clients who ask for consultation on sales plans and campaigns. It's varied—there are new things coming up all the time and I enjoy working with a lot of different people. Actually, I wouldn't call it an ideal work to be in. Right now, if I were to choose a career, I'd go to seminary and become a minister. In the Presbyterian church."

"I've gotten interested in layman's work on the local and national levels—have been working actively in it for about four years now. I'm interested in it from the angle of broadening the interests of laymen from just a concern with local presbyteries to the national growth of the church. Right now I'm assisting in a self-survey which the church is making and am working with a committee on financial plans for building new churches. I'm supposed to go to Philadelphia as a delegate to the national convention this year and I'll be going to Chicago next week for a meeting on the self-study. Ten years ago I wasn't in church activities at all. Now it takes half of my spare time. It's the most important thing I do—it means the most to me.

"The rest of my spare time goes three ways: reading, relaxation and projects around the house. I do some repair work—small jobs, and take care of the yard. I watch TV for relaxation—I'm a sucker for Western movies on TV and all kinds of sports. I used to play golf but I gave it up three years ago. I guess I gave it up

simply because I had played it so long. It had become a business with me rather than pleasure. The crowd that I played with looked at it that way. I never was much of a fisherman but I do a little of it when we go to the mountains every summer.

"As for reading, I'm not much on magazines, except the Saturday Evening Post which I like. Otherwise it's confined mostly to the trade paper field. Then I read quite a few books. The last five years 80 per cent of my reading has been historical material and church printings related to our church work. The church recommends a lot of reading matter. It fills in to a considerable extent for what I didn't get in college.

"I belong to a country club and a couple of organizations associated with my business, but I'm really not very active. My time goes to church activities.

"One thing about my church work. I often feel like I'm not really equipped for it. I haven't had the kind of education I need. That's one reason why I try to do a lot of reading.

"My wife is fairly active in church work, too. We have three children that take a lot of her time, of course—two boys and a girl. We're a complete family unit. We seldom engage in activities that don't involve the whole family. Aside from that, I think the main thing is to see that they get a good education, let them grow up.

"Our friends come from three sources: church, business contacts and lifelong friends. We have a group that we get together with for parties, visit back and forth. We have quite a few friends.

"The extent of my interest in politics is that of the average citizen anxious to see the right men in the jobs.

"I'd say these are the best years of my life so far. I think the most important things for me have been achieving moderate business success and economic advantages, having a family, and the last few years my interest in the church. That has really acceler-

ated my activity, given me more tolerance and furnished me with greater understanding.

Ratings on Case A

	Performance (0 - 9)	Motivation (1 - 3)
Parent	7.5	2.5
Spouse	6	2
Aging Parents	6	2
Home-Member	5.5	2
Worker	7	2.5
Leisure	7	2.5
Church	9	3
Clubs	6	2
Citizen	4.5	1
Friend	5.5	2

Case B is another person with high motivation and fairly high performance. This young woman wants to learn more about interior decorating, ceramics, art; she wants to become active in PTA and in community work; and she wants to be an active worker in politics. She has numerous interests which might lead her into adult education activities, and which should assist her in growing to a wiser maturity.

Case B Generally High Average Performance—High Motivation
(Woman, age 27, Upper-middle Class)

The Rameys live in a gray shingle ranch style home in one of Kansas City's newer suburban areas. A youthful neighborhood—new homes, young trees, children playing wagons, bicycles, baby carriages—all telling the story of a neighborhood composed mainly of young married couples. Mrs. Ramey's three children (age 4, 3, 1) were having their afternoon nap.

Mrs. Ramey and her lawyer-husband moved to Kansas City four years ago. They both grew up in small cities in Oklahoma. Mrs. Ramey, who is now 27 years old, was one of three children. Her father is a doctor. Her mother was a school teacher prior to her marriage. Mrs. Ramey is also a former school teacher. She taught kindergarten for two years after she graduated from the state university.

Of her education, Mrs. Ramey said, "I loved it. Looking back on it now, I don't feel as if I got into the real meat of most of my subjects, and I wish I'd had more of the cultural subjects."

"How does school teaching compare with being a home-maker?" I asked.

"Oh, I liked my teaching. I taught kindergarten. But much as I loved it, I wouldn't trade being a home-maker for anything! I love my home. There are lots of things we want to do with it, as we get the time and money. We do all our own decorating. And I do all the housework, of course. Sometimes it gets to be a 'have-to' proposition. I don't claim to love it all, or to like it all the time. There's so much of it that is just routine—just tedious tasks and pure drudgery."

"What do you like best about it?"

"I like cooking and sewing the best. I don't always have the incentive for cooking—my husband is away a lot—but I do like it, the cooking and planning part—not the dish-washing!"

"You mentioned that your husband is away a lot. What is his work?"

"He's trying to build up a private practice now. He finished law school just last year. We met at the university. We married before we were out of college—and with the war, he was two years behind me. He worked for a year then, before he decided to come up here and go to law school. Now part of building a practice is to

get around town and meet people. He belongs to more organizations than I could name. Goes to two different Democratic groups, the American Legion and is on the Athletic Commission. He has a Boy Scout troop, too, and he teaches Sunday School. I can see how these things are important, but I wish he could be home more. It's especially hard with the children. I'm home alone with them all the time, and I find myself yelling at them, losing patience. I know they get just as tired of being confined to the same four walls all the time as I do and tired of me just as I get tired of them sometimes. We both yell at them. My husband gets short-tempered. Usually he's all tired out when he comes home and all he wants to do is relax and sleep."

"What are the things you feel a parent should do for his children?"

"I think you should take an active interest in their work and play. Do things with them. Be a guiding parent. Teach them to think for themselves, to place their own values on things. Be ready to accept their judgments. Just hope that you've guided them so they'll make the right ones. I don't want to be a bossy parent. I think it's important for them to learn how to get along with other people. Religious education is important—we're trying to give them that. And we want to send them to college. We hope that they'll be interested in going to college. And if they want to, we're hoping to give them music and dancing lessons."

"What do you and your husband to together?"

"We've never had a lot of time together. He's only home about two nights a week. It's kind of hard but I've tried to adjust to it—have adjusted to making my own life around my interests. I like to refinish furniture and he's interested in that, too. We'd like to take up golf but we don't have the time or money for it now. Occasionally we go out together with friends, or go to a play or a football game.

We don't have a lot of time to see friends and there's only one bunch that we get together with regularly—they're people that John met through the Young Democrats Club."

"What else do you do in your spare time?"

"Really haven't had much spare time lately. But when I do I really like to sew—make clothes for the children and myself. I like to start with something new. I don't care about mending or making things over. I think I could sew all day if I had the time.

"I've never had time for hobbies—aside from refinishing furniture. We did those tables and the chairs and the desk. I'd like to work with ceramics. Wish I could go to the Art Institute and take some of their courses there."

"What reading do you do?"

"I glance at the front page, the fashion news and the ads in the newspaper. Both my husband and I like to read. Historical novels and biography mostly. I didn't get enough history in school and I enjoy getting it this way. I usually read before I go to sleep. I read the Journal, Companion, McCalls and Life, too. Then there's a magazine called Household that I like very much."

"What kind of music do you like?"

"I like semi-classical, the 'pop' music and once in a while some classical—Chopin especially. To me, most classical isn't very restful, after the children—"(and here her voice trailed off, leaving the sentence unfinished)." I like to go to piano concerts to hear people like Iturbi. I don't care for opera. When you don't understand what they're saying, how can you appreciate it?"

"Oh yes, we like to go to the summer musical comedies, but we only go once in a while, and about once a year to a play."

"How much time do you spend with TV?"

"Well, it's on every night from 7 to 11 and sometimes later. I sometimes watch during the day—or at least I'll have it on."

"What do you do on vacations?"

"So far we haven't had a real vacation. I usually take the children home and let the grandparents wrestle with them for a couple of weeks while I get my dental work done."

"Do you belong to a church?"

"Not here. We haven't transferred our membership up here yet, but we're doing that next month. We go almost every Sunday though and of course John teaches every Sunday. He just started that."

"Do you belong to any clubs?"

"No. I'd like to belong to something—a bridge club, maybe—just to get out and away from home occasionally. And I want to do PTA work when the children get to school. And eventually I'd like to do some community work of some kind."

"Are you interested in politics?"

"Yes, I am. I think that everyone should be, for one thing, because our government has gotten so big. We need to be concerned about world politics, too. I've never been active but my family has. My grandfather was one of the electors for Eisenhower. You have to be interested in politics from the ground up—I've learned that. The little people can make themselves heard if they'll take an interest in local and state government. We talk politics a lot with our friends."

Ratings on Case B

	Peformance (0 - 9)	Motivation (1 - 3)
Parent	7	3
Spouse	4.5	2
Home-Maker	6	2.5
Leisure	6.5	2
Church	5.5	2
Clubs	3.5	2.5
Citizen	6	1
Friend	5.5	2

Case C illustrates a very common condition of average performance and average motivation. Mr. Johnson is a man who has reached a plateau in his vocation, and does not feel the need of further learning there, or anywhere else. He is getting along quite well by his standards and those of the people close to him. The one area of possible further learning is that represented by the Masons, but the lodge for him represents masculine comradeship and perhaps a feeling of spiritual growth; he does not take part in it as an educational experience. This man and millions of men and women like him are the people who offer no handles for the adult educator to grasp.

In terms of the wisdom of maturity, Mr. Johnson shows emotional expansion in the friendships he has established through his lodge work. But aside from this area he shows no expansion of interests. He cannot face the thought of life without his work, and there is a rigid quality and increasing impoverishment in his leisure interests.

Case C Average Performance—Average Motivation
(Man, Age 50, Lower-middle Class)

The Johnsons live on the edge of the city in a one and a half story asbestos shingle house that Mr. Johnson built five years ago. There are six rooms, one unfinished as yet. It is a comfortable house on the inside, full of much lived with furniture—a family home. In referring to his tasks as a home-member Mr. Johnson stated in a matter-of-fact tone: "I built this whole house myself. Got wore out working on it. In fact it's not finished. I still have to pine panel one bedroom but I'm too tired when I come home from work to do it. The yard could use fixin' too, I suppose. The boy takes care of the grass—I don't do much with it."

Mr. Johnson is an electrician—has been in this line of work

for 14 years. Before that he had a variety of jobs—machine shop, printing, bakery and he has very vivid memories of Depression Days when he was jobless. Of his job he says: "It's the best one I've had—for responsibility and pay ($6500). I don't know that I'd change much if I had it to do over. I've always liked electrician work."

When asked about how much schooling he'd had, he replied "I have a certificate that says I graduated from 7th grade. I'd like to have had more education. One thing they get now and that's how to talk. Many times I wished I had the right words to express myself --to express myself right. And they get public speaking—I think that would have helped me.

"I don't have too much spare time. I spend two nights a week and sometimes all day Saturday at lodge meetings. I'm a Mason—a junior deacon. It's hard to say just why I like it—I guess everyone has the desire for that kind of work some time or other in their lives. That's where I've made my friends—in Masonry. We don't do much with couples—maybe only once a month. My wife would like more of that, I think. Actually we don't see as much of each other since I joined the Masons. Seems like all we do together any more is sit around on the evenings that I am home. I go to union meetings a couple of times a month too.

"My wife is a great TV fan. Personally I don't go much for it. I like to watch wrestling but that's about all. I used to go fishing and hunting two or three times a year but it's got so you have to drive a couple hundred miles to do it any more and I don't have the time and inclination to do it. We generally go for a ride on Sundays when the weather is nice. I like getting out. One thing I love to do is travel—get out and see the country."

("What else do you do in your spare time, Mr. Johnson?")

"Don't do anything else." (Reading?) "No, I don't read except

to study my Masonic work. Don't pay much attention to the newspaper except to read the headlines. Never read magazines. I used to take Colliers but I finally quit taking it." (Music?) "Yes, I like all kinds of music—music is a matter of words with me. I don't listen like I used to. My kids do though."

The Johnsons have two children, a boy twenty who is in the Navy and a girl seventeen. Mr. Johnson's notion of the role of a good father is: "See that they're provided for—food to eat and clothes to wear. My main hope is to see them educated and settled. I hope the boy will go on to college, to the University after he gets out of service and take up engineering maybe. I don't think my daughter will go on to college. She's taking a secretarial course in high school so she'll probably get a secretarial job when she gets out. They're pretty good kids. I think we've done a fairly good job with them. Sent them to Sunday School and church. My wife goes, but I don't. Never have been a church-goer."

(Are you interested in politics?) "Not actively. I usually like to know who's going to be elected. I don't believe in voting the straight party ticket. I always split my ticket—vote for the man instead of the party."

("What are your plans for the future?") "Don't have any. I'll just go along from day to day—take it as it comes." ("How about retirement?")

"I'm against the whole idea of retirement. Just because a man is 65 doesn't mean that he still isn't productive or hasn't got a lot of know-how to pass on to others."

Ratings on Case C

	Performance (0 - 9)	Motivation (1 - 3)
Parent	5	2
Spouse	3.5	2
Home-member	4.5	2

Ratings on Case C (cont.)

	Performance (0 - 9)	Motivation (1 - 3)
Worker	6.5	3
Leisure	3.5	2
Church Member	2	1
Clubs	5.5	2.5
Citizen	4	2
Friend	5.5	2

Case D illustrates relatively low performance and low motivation. This young woman needs education but she is not conscious of her need. Hence she could be brought into education only by programs which stimulated and motivated her. The PTA might be a possible contact for this, but just now she is so immersed in the mundane details of keeping up with her home and family that PTA meetings seem to require an impossible effort.

What are the chances that this young woman will grow to the "wisdom of maturity"? There is little in her present attitudes and activities that would provide the basis for a positive prediction of her chances for achieving this.

Case D Low Performance—Low Motivation
(Woman, Age 26, Upper-lower Class)

The Bates family lives in a government housing development which became cooperative housing units after the war. They appear to be poorly constructed, and the area looks as if it could slip to a slum status within the next two decades.

Mrs. Bates is a slender, rather frail-looking young woman of 26, attractively dressed in a cotton print dress. Her living room looked bare and disorderly, with linoleum covered floors, plastic drapes, a sofa and two chairs, a TV set and a few odds and ends of tables and lamps. There were no decorative touches to add to the

appearance of the room. A huge basket of laundry occupied the middle of the floor.

The Bates have five children, age two to nine. Mrs. Bates regards her parent role as the most important of her roles. She feels that the best years of a woman's life are "when her kids are young." Her notion of a good mother is one who "keeps them clean and fed, teaches them to be well-mannered, sees that they get the proper rest and play." Most of her time is devoted to these tasks—cooking, washing, ironing and sewing for her family. She seems to be more motivated for good performance in this role than she is in any other role. She relies heavily upon the institution of church and school in the proper rearing of her children. She says, "I don't have time to go to church. I'm too busy with the kids. But I send the older ones to Sunday School and to Bible School."

Mr. Bates works in a nearby factory, earns $3700 a year. Both he and Mrs. Bates view his job as simply a means of livelihood. When asked what their common activities are, Mrs. Bates' face clouded and she said, "Well, we don't have much time alone. We watch TV together. Usually I'm busy with the kids or the house. That's about all we do. He helps out if I'm sick but otherwise it's my job, the housework."

Her comments on home-making: "There's nothing I 'specially like about housework. I do it because I have to, that's all. I can't seem to keep up with it. Right now it could stand some redecorating. We've done what little decorating this place has had in the last five years, but we don't seem to get around to doing any more."

"What do you do in your spare time?"

"Right now I'm learning to drive. My sister and I are both learning—taking driving lessons. Mother watches the kids while I do that. Then I sew—make clothes for the children. I love to sew. And I watch TV. I often have it on while I'm ironing here in the living

room. I suppose, counting practically all evening, that we watch it five hours a day. Otherwise, I'll have the radio on for popular music. That's the only kind I like. Oh, and another thing I do is read mystery stories—usually read in bed before I go to sleep. I don't have time for reading otherwise—'cept to scan the news and the comics in the paper."

"Do you spend much time with friends?"

"Oh, I run next door for a few minutes every day, and I have three friends that I see some—high school friends of mine. We don't do much in the evenings or see other couples much or get together regularly with people, though, if that's what you mean. And I don't belong to no clubs or anything like that. Haven't got time and besides, I never was interested in them."

"Are you interested in politics?"

"Oh my no, not me! Never have been. In fact, I guess I'm terrible but I only voted once—this last national election I voted for president but that's the only time I ever have."

In talking about her education, Mrs. Bates said: "I quit the second year in high school. I wasn't too interested anyway. I quit and got married. I really wasn't much on school. Looks like some of our kids are gonna take after us. My husband didn't finish either."

Ratings on Case D

	Performance (0 - 9)	Motivation (1 - 3)
Parent	4.5	3
Spouse	3	2
Home-Maker	4	2
Leisure	3.5	2
Church	1.5	2
Clubs	0	1
Citizen	2	1
Friend	3	1.5

Areas of Program and Types of Institution Most Likely to be Effective with Various Groups of People

The data on motivation and performance for developmental tasks of middle age provide a basis for estimating the "demand" for adult education and also for designing a program which utilizes efficiently various types of institutions (church, labor union, lodge, etc.) which have possibilities for education of adults.

These data bear out the historical fact that adult education has had and continues to have its greatest appeal to people of the middle class. The majority of people with an average to high performance and a high motivation are middle-class people. But these data also indicate that a considerable minority of working-class people are also good prospects for adult education.

The areas of program may be ranked in the order of their appeal to people. Their appeal to people depends upon people's motivation and performance in the areas, and also on the degree to which a given area is regarded by them as appropriate for educational effort. (For instance, citizenship may be regarded as more appropriate for education than husband-wife relations, though motivation and performance may be lower in the citizenship area.)

Roughly, the rank order of program area possibilities is the following.

1. Work

Performance is fairly high, and motivation is fairly high, except in the lower-lower class. Furthermore, vocational upgrading is generally recognized as a function of education for all work levels. Consequently vocational improvement is an area of successful adult education and will probably continue to be such an area. However, this area is of most interest to younger people.

2. Leisure

The time for adult education is almost always the time of leisure. It is in their reports on the use of leisure time that people generally speak most explicitly of experience or desire for further education (with the exception of comments on vocational training).

Performance is average in the leisure area, and self-referent motivation is fairly high in all social classes. However, many kinds of leisure activity require little or no education. Adult education should find success in the leisure area, but it cannot easily reach those sections of the population who now find recreation in simple easily-learned activities, such as TV and radio listening, fishing, dancing, and automobile riding. (There is the possibility, of course, that TV and radio can themselves be used with positive educational effect.)

3. Home-making

Performance is average, and self-referent motivation is average to high in all social classes. Furthermore, home-making is regarded as an appropriate area for education in such matters as food-preparation, interior decorating, landscaping, home-repair and home-building. This would seem to be a most promising area for adult education.

4. Parenthood and Family Relations

Performance is fairly high in these areas, and self-referent motivation is high in all social classes. Therefore this area should be a good one for adult education. However, its possibilities are somewhat reduced by the fact that relatively few people regard parenthood and family relations as an area for education. Still, the spread of experiments in family life education, marriage counselling, and child study groups indicates that this area is a highly promising one for expansion.

5. Citizenship

In this area the social need is admittedly high and it is generally considered that people can learn to become better citizens by reading, joining study and pressure groups, and becoming better informed. But performance is generally low, and motivation is low. Only the upper middle class people show a high enough performance and motivation to justify optimism about adult education efforts. An adult education program, it might be predicted from the findings, will attract mainly upper middle class people plus a small minority of lower middle and working class people who have relatively high motivation in this area.

6. Cooperating with Institutions

The performance and motivation data also suggest some of the strengths and weaknesses of churches, associations, lodges, and labor unions as vehicles of adult education.

People become involved in organized acitivities as parents and as members of church, occupational, civic, and social groups. With few exceptions most women in this study are, or have been, involved in PTA organizations. Motivated by a desire to do the right thing as parents, they have attended PTA meetings initially out of loyalty to their children. But their remarks indicate that they became interested in continued attendance because they valued many of the programs as learning experiences and because PTA provided the opportunity to evaluate their performance as parents in the light of the performance of other parents with whom they felt a sense of identity. In general, PTA is a woman's affair—the responsibility of mothers. And yet, on an activities Interest Check List, as many men as women checked Understanding Your Child as the title of a course that would appeal to them. This might lead to experiments with PTA programs designed to attract and

hold the interest of fathers as well as mothers. Programs which provide discussion group experience in studying and talking about the philosophy of education, current issues of education, methods of instruction, curriculum planning and content, etc., might very well provide parents with the kind of learning experience from which to reflect upon their own needs. Such a program could well provide the stimulus for a changed attitude toward education and a new view of education as a life-long process.

7. The Church as an Agent of Adult Education.

The church is an agent of adult education, through its preaching, literature, worship, and organized sub-groups. Although it cannot easily penetrate into certain areas of political and social controversy, nor into the skeptical study of religion itself, there still remains a broad area of possible adult education—including parenthood and family relations, leisure, and certain aspects of citizenship. The Kansas City data indicate performance is below the passable level, which means that only a minority of people participate in the church to the extent of regular attendance, while a still smaller group participate in the sub-groups of the church. This is true in a city where church-going is "the thing to do." Thus it would seem that the church has potentialities for adult education which are far from being realized. Furthermore, the church reaches working-class people more fully than any other type of association.

8. Clubs and Associations as Agents of Adult Education.

The professional, business, labor, school, and civic associations all aim to do a job of adult education. In addition, social organizations carry on some education in leisure as well as in civic affairs. Therefore these associations have a considerable adult education potential. But the survey shows that participation in such

associations is relatively slight outside of the upper-middle class, and that motivation for them is correspondingly low. Consequently these associations have good possibilities for adult education in the upper-middle class and with a small minority of people in other social classes.

9. Adult Education in Business and Industry.

One of the hopeful signs in the liberal adult education movement has been the growing numbers of instances when leaders of business and industry have sought the assistance of universities in planning courses for employees. The University of Pennsylvania's Institute for Humanistic Studies for Bell Telephone executives; the Nieman Fellowships and the Advanced Management Program at Harvard University are examples of this.

V
QUALITIES OF AN EFFECTIVE ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM

The foregoing discussion has tacitly assumed that adult education was something constant, existing in a community in the way perhaps that a water supply exists—available to anyone who wants to turn it on. But adult education is itself a variable quantity; there is more of it, more available to people and of better quality in some communities than others. In communities where adult education is plentiful and of good quality it probably reaches people of lower motivation than in the average community. In communities where the motivation of the adult educator is high, and he is attuned to the needs of his community, the program may reach people whose own motivation for education is relatively low.

Most adults view education as the pursuit of knowledge and information, the acquisition of abilities. In their minds, education is associated with the developmental period of life. In order to reach these groups of people, adult educators must first focus upon the problem of changing general attitudes of adults toward themselves as learners and toward education which they regard as a child's work only. In order to extend the population of adult learners, the educators must assist people to view themselves not just as performers in the adult roles of life but rather as learner-performers.

As adult educators we are limiting the number of people we can serve as long as we confine our efforts to programs designed for individuals who have a conscious motivation, a felt need for

specific educational experiences.

We suggest that adult education also has a function to perform in the clarification and stimulation of conscious motivation for adult learning experiences. We cannot stop with merely stating that "people don't know what they're missing." We must find ways of helping them to see what they are missing. We must be able to show them, to give them some idea of how adult education courses can increase their satisfactions in living.

One way to make a program more effective is to bring it aggressively to the attention of people. These people, sometimes with only average motivation, may enroll in a program of "aggressive adult education." For instance, a child study group was established recently for mothers in a slum area of a city. The principal and several teachers of the school in this area saw a need for better understanding of children by the mothers of their pupils. They could count on a fairly high motivation and a poor to average performance as parents by these women. They could also count on this as a "teachable moment" for these mothers. They used their influence to bring the women together in a study group, thus increasing the mothers' motivation. They led the study group so skillfully that the majority of mothers enjoyed it and found it met a need they had only vaguely been aware of.

Clarification of Life Tasks

An individual's expectations of himself in regard to a particular developmental task and his knowledge of how this task might be achieved are dependent upon the position from which he views it and within which he has had experience with it. Social class position, age and sex status provide basic positions which influence and determine how the individual perceives, becomes identified with, acquires, adapts and adjusts to his developmental tasks.

For example we find that differences in leisure activity for the upper-middle and working classes are mostly differences in energy-expenditure and in the exercise of developed tastes and talents, rather than differences in money expenditure.

In our present study, we find an interesting contrast between two young couples, one from the upper-middle, one from the working class. Annual income for both families was $5,000.

Mr. and Mrs. Agard, the upper middle class couple, grew up on relatively small mid-west farms. Both sought a college education. Mrs. Agard attended college for one year. With the help of the G.I. Bill, Mr. Agard was able to complete college with a mjaor in Business Administration. After graduation he entered a large business firm as an executive trainee, and now has the position of a department head.

The Agards and their three children live in a six-room ranch-style home in a new suburban development. Their home is tastefully furnished. Their leisure hours are filled with family activities, once-a-week gatherings with friends (visiting, ping-pong, occasional cards), TV, reading (principally historical novels and magazines—Time, Post, Readers Digest), weekend trips to family farms and once or twice a summer, attendance at the outdoor theatre (musical comedy productions).

Mrs. Black of the working-class dreams of living in just such a home as the Agards, "with a nice yard where the two children can play." Her husband works at the Stock-Yards, a night-shift job.

The Blacks live in a small four-room apartment in one of the near-slum areas of the city. It is dark and dingy in appearance.

Mr. Black quit school at the end of tenth grade, and since then has worked at several different jobs. Mrs. Black is a high school graduate.

The Blacks say that they have very little leisure. Their favorite activity is hunting and fishing and about once a month they spend a day at it. TV occupies the major part of their spare time. It is not unusual for them to have their television on all day long. Both like to read. Mr. Black prefers 25¢ paperback editions of Westerns and mysteries. Mrs. Black's favorite magazines are Confidential and True Story.

Here are people who, in their comments, reveal dissatisfaction with their life but only vague notions of what to do about it. Could

the adult educator help them, first by providing educational experiences related to budgeting and planning for a home, home decorations, etc? Then, perhaps, they would be ready for the next step.

The individual is a product of all the groups to which he belongs. And it is these groups he must depend upon for helping him to define his goals. It is these groups who define role expectations, thereby setting the limits for his range of individual choice. These are the limits which not only restrict, but also provide the security of boundaries. These can restrict, but they can also enlarge the scope of the individual's world, showing him pathways for growth, encouraging, supporting his efforts. What are some of these groups? The family, church, clubs, organizations (work, community, social), groups of friends, neighborhood groups, political parties. These are the groups to which an adult looks for his cues in his role living. He does not look ordinarily to the school except insofar as it affects his child, and his role as a parent.

Adult education faces the tasks of assisting people to clarify their personal and social goals, stimulating them to evaluate the satisfactions and dissatisfactions in their lives, helping and guiding them, implementing their efforts to find satisfying ways to move toward the achievement of their goals.

A young mother, a college graduate and formerly a chemist, along with her dentist husband, decided to enroll in a Great Books course because they felt a need for a broader cultural experience and for intellectual stimulation. They found in this program an educational experience which implemented the achievement of conscious goals. During the two years in which they participated in the Great Books program they found themselves becoming increasingly interested in the political life of the community and in community organizations. They became more active in the PTA. And at the end of two years, this young woman decided to attend the local university to study for a master's degree in elementary education.

This young woman had a conscious need and lines of communication in the community which provided suggested ways of meeting that need. But what can be done about the person whose needs have not been brought into conscious focus? Since he has not found his way to the adult educators, should they not find a way to him, establish lines of communication with those institutions and organizations that have meaning for him, letting them serve as the familiar and tested link between him and further education.

For example, Kansas City is a city where church-going is popular. More people recognize a social need to participate in church activity than is true in other cities. Consequently the churches may be unusually good agencies for adult education. A program set up under the auspices of a church might have more chance of success than the same program set up, for example, under a junior college, or under the public library. This type of conclusion would have to be qualified by considering that some kinds of educational programs may not be considered suitable for church sponsorship. A church might be timid about setting up a study group on civil liberties, and it would probably regard a class in accounting as out of its field.

Conclusions

In this essay we have explored the implications for adult education of a study of the activities and goals of adults in an American city. It appears that such a study can supply the educator with useful knowledge concerning the present level of performance by people of their developmental tasks in adult life, and concerning their motivation for effort in the various developmental task areas.

Equipped with this kind of knowledge the educator with skill in working with and through the adult associations of a community and with a grasp of methods and materials for teaching adults can

choose the areas of program which seem to him most important for educational effort.

The areas of living in which adults are most likely to take advantage of educational offerings are those of work, parenthood, leisure, and home-making. Here their motivation to do a good job is highest, and their performance generally leaves ample room for improvement.

But there are other areas, notably that of citizenship, where the social need for greater competence is high, although the motivation of most people is rather low. In such areas the educator should work aggressively to stimulate people, to help them clarify their life tasks and to see the importance of better performance.

It appears from the data here presented that middle-class people are the most receptive to adult education because their motivation for improvement is generally higher, and their performance is high enough to have given them the feel of some success and the desire for more. But a substantial minority of lower or working-class people also have the kind of interests and competence of the middle-class people, and can profit enormously from education.

In the end, the educator's decisions about what to teach and whom to teach must rest upon his values and his estimates of the importance to society and to the individual of one or another educational offering. His skill and efficiency, however, can be enhanced by attention to the ideas and facts which are presented in this kind of report on the study of adult life.

ADULT EDUCATION FOR OUR TIME*

Robert J. Havighurst

In thinking about adult education for our particular time and place in history, it is useful to examine the man who is to be educated. What is there about him that may give us clues to a proper adult education? Twentieth century man has three characteristics which distinguish him from his predecessors and make it necessary for him to seek education all of his life.

First, he has an open horizon. He sees himself as living in a world with endless possibilities. He sees no limit to the world in space and time. The tidy little concept of a closed world which Columbus denied by sailing beyond the horizon has since been replaced by a series of widening concepts produced by an apparently limitless series of discoveries and inventions which have lengthened human life, widened the range of travel, put machines at the disposal of man, given us an economy of abundance, and soon will take us into outer space.

Second, modern man trusts his own judgment rather than supernatural authority. He continually widens the sphere of things which he conceives to be subject to the discoverable laws of nature. He continually brings larger and larger segments of human life under the domain of human planning and organization. Whereas Moses went up on high to bring down from Jehovah a constitution for the government of the people, the revolutionary fathers of

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*This is a reprint of an article that appeared in Adult Leadership, December, 1958.

modern governments reasoned out their own constitutions. To the man of today, good government is man-made, and must continually be modified on the basis of study of the society.

Third, twentieth century man is constructively worried. Faced with the terrifying visible possibility that mankind can destroy itself with deadly radiation, having experienced two disastrous world wars within one generation, he no longer believes in the inevitability of progress. Instead, he believes that the future of mankind depends upon the wisdom and goodness of men like himself. Men like himself must either fail or succeed in making a good world. There is no natural law of an improving world.

Characteristics Combined

These three characteristics have never been combined in so many people as they are today. Before this time, a few people have had one or another of the three traits; and even all three of them were combined in rare individuals. Today these traits are seen in enough people, and enough ordinary people, to make this kind of person a force in the world.

This kind of person cannot believe that his education was completed once and for all time at the close of his adolescence. He cannot think of education as only a period of learning or preparation for an adulthood during which one spends one's store of knowledge.

In this twentieth century world, the ordinary person has to learn more new things after the age of 20 than ever before in human history. People at all levels of economic life need to go on learning new things as adults. Not only the research scientist who makes a career of learning new things; but also the garage mechanic who must always be learning the latest in automobile bodies and motors; the assembly line worker who must learn a new assembly job at least once a year; the farmer who must learn to

use new machines and new varieties of seed; and the housewife who must learn how to use a new floor wax or a new kitchen machine or how to cook foods conserved by a new process.

In this modern and changing society there are three major functions of adult education: (1) education for personal competence; (2) education for civic competence; and (3) education for joy in living.

There is a certain mood appropriate to each function. That is, one approaches the task of learning in a certain frame of mind appropriate to the function. For the function of education for personal competence, the mood is that of objectivity and competence.

Every person has the task of becoming and maintaining himself as a competent person in his society. In our society this requires continuous learning. Adult education, in this mood, is a businesslike affair of providing the situation in which the adult goes on learning things which make him a more competent worker, parent, spouse, and homemaker.

There is usually no problem of motivating people to want to be competent in these four roles. The "felt need" is high. Thus, in a study of motivation and performance of adults in Kansas City,[1] it was found that the felt needs (motivation) of people for nine common social roles were ranked in the following order: Parent, worker, user of leisure, spouse, homemaker, friend, church member, club member, citizen. There were slight variations of this order between the sexes and the social classes.

The ordinary person reaches adulthood knowing in a general way what is expected of a parent, a husband or wife, a homemaker, and a worker. Soon he enters these roles in earnest and tries to

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[1] Robert J. Havighurst and Betty Orr, Adult Education and Adult Needs. University of Chicago. Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. 1956.

fill them in ways which are satisfying to him and to society. He spends probably 70 to 80 per cent of his waking hours in these roles. If he does them well, he is judged by others to be a competent person.

In modern society one has a great deal more to learn about these roles when he enters them in earnest, and one goes on learning as one goes through life. The learning may be informal and based very much on individual experience, as is the case with the role of husband or wife, or it may be quite formal as is the case with much vocational training at the adult level.

Especially for the roles of worker, homemaker and parent, people generally feel that they can improve themselves by educational methods, and so they demand adult education programs in these areas. There are sex differences, of course. Young men tend to center their attention on vocational training. Young women, if they have children, have the highest motivation for improvement in the parent role. Also, young women are so much interested in learning how to cook and keep house that they follow formal or informal programs of this sort. Men's interest in homemaking is apt to come later in life, when they have time and money to go in for improving their houses, building additional rooms, landscaping and gardening.

The social class differences in felt needs for improvement in the various areas of personal competence are rather complex. Motivation for improvement as a worker is highest at the middle class level and lowest at the lower working class or unskilled worker level. Therefore, vocational upgrading by study is wanted by people at all except the lowest occupational levels.

Motivation for the parent role is high at all social levels, but slightly higher at the lower middle and upper working class levels, which indicates that parent education should be popular at the "com-

mon man" level of American society. But such people do not learn easily in an academic atmosphere, and consequently the educational program for them should be more practical and less formal than if it were designed for an upper-middle class group.

In the area of personal competence as it has been defined, the adult educator can count on a fairly strong felt need and, therefore, a considerable demand for his offerings. If this were the whole of adult education, the task of the adult educator would be rather simple. But the other two aspects are not as simple to analyze and to manage, although for many educators they are the most important parts of the enterprise.

Education for Civic Competence

The role of citizen has a different status in the feelings of people than the roles of parent, spouse, worker, and homemaker. It has a lesser impact on the person. It is felt less keenly as a need. In our Kansas City study the only group of people who felt even an average motivation for this role as compared with other roles were middle and upper class men over 40. People of working class status as a group were less motivated for this role; women were less motivated than men; and young adults aged 25-30 were less motivated than people over 40.

This means that people are likely to be content with an average or even a poor performance in the role of citizen. It also means that our society does not pass a severe judgment on people who are indifferent citizens. The only people who are punished by public opinion for poor citizenship are those who are actively antidemocratic and those who accept positions of civic trust and then misuse these positions for their own personal advantage. There is no sanction of public opinion to make a person feel guilty if he fails to vote regularly and there is even less force of public opinion to

make a person feel responsible for being informed on the issues at stake in an election. While there are people who do feel keenly their responsibility as citizens, they are in a small minority.

This is clearly an educational problem. A hundred years ago, in our country and in North Europe, there was a successful drive for universal, free, compulsory primary education, aimed primarily at making people responsible and intelligent citizens. Shortly afterward there came the adult education movement, aimed at reducing illiteracy and at improving civic competence. The Americanization movement in this country and the Workers Education Movement in England were examples of civic education geared to the needs of the times. Today, the wide movement for fundamental education in the underdeveloped countries is aimed at improving civic as well as personal competence on a foundation of literacy. These are examples of adult education for other times and other places. We need a program for our time and our situation.

Just more formal education for everybody is not the answer to our need. This year, 8 per cent of our adult population are college graduates, compared with 4.6 per cent in 1940. This year, 42 per cent of our adult population have graduated from high school, compared with 24.5 per cent in 1940. Is the quality of our citizenship measurably better this year than it was in 1940? I doubt it. In fact, I think most thoughtful people looking at the American scene would say that the civic competence of the average American adult today is lower than it was in 1940. They might qualify this statement by adding that perhaps the task of being a good citizen is more complex today than it was in 1940. But it hardly seems that increasing the amount of formal education has met the need for informed citizens in our democracy.

Adult education is a creation of democracy, and should be an instrument for improving democracy. The mood of this type of ed-

ucation is a stern, almost desperate one. We know that our social order is in danger. The old order is passing.

The new social order must be a world order. Creation of the new order requires knowledge, intelligence, and a will to change society. There must be continual study and adjustment, in a world situation which changes so rapidly that no one course of adult study, no one syllabus, can be adequate for more than a few months. Adult education must race against time.

Citizenship today must be world citizenship. Two world wars and a depression have made a reality out of the One World slogan. There is no longer any isolation except the isolation of ignorance or the isolation of economic underdevelopment. The isolated subsistence farmer of yesterday is the factory worker of today. The successful farmer of today drives a tractor and reads about agricultural economics. The former fertile valley, isolated and living its own life, now has airplanes over it, a superhighway running through it, television or radio in every home, and the oil driller or the uranium prospector probing underneath it.

Uniformity of technological society is a fact in Tokyo, Buenos Aires, Moscow, Berlin, and New York. A citizen of Chicago would be more at home in any of these cities than he would in the hill country at the southern end of his own state.

Domestic civic problems are also more complex than they were a generation ago. Every modern state has moved, under one political philosophy or another, toward the condition of being a welfare state, with provision for old age pensions, unemployment insurance, hospital and health insurance, government machinery to stop economic deflation, economic assistance to the farmer, to the marginal manufacturer. This kind of state leaves no side of our economic life untouched and moves in upon our family life and our leisure time. This kind of state must depend upon the wisdom

of its citizens.

A philosopher, who was in but not of America, and was always a keen observer of American life (George Santayana), once said: "To be an American is, of itself, almost a moral ambition, an education, and a career."

He wrote this 50 years ago, and it may have been more true then than it is today. But this sentence could well be taken as one expression of the goal of adult education.

What does the American need, to be worthy of this description today? He needs: (1) faith in democracy; (2) knowledge of the whole world and its forces; (3) desire to make democracy work in this modern world.

Nobody can qualify for this description solely on the basis of what he learns up to high school graduation, or even up to college graduation.

If adult education succeeds with this task it must somehow affect the great majority of people, not just a faithful few. It must face the fact that the quality of American citizenship has not been improving. During the past decade the gap between the duty of the American citizen and his performance has been growing wider.

The past decade may well be described by future historians as the Ugly Decade. Almost 10 years ago, in 1950, President Truman declared our country to be in a state of national emergency. We are still, today, legally in this state. On this basis, civil liberties have been abrogated, the Congress and some of the state legislatures have passed laws limiting the rights of people to speak freely and to associate freely for political purposes if they are to hold state or federal government employment. The rights that people must employ in order to be good citizens of a democracy have been systematically denied to people with unpopular beliefs. The studies of civil liberties describe this as a "New Wave of Intoler-

ance," similar to the period of intolerance directly after World War I.

This has been a decade in which our public leaders have been weak or inept, both in and out of public office. They have failed to show us the way to preserve democracy at home and to solve the problems of international relations. Of course it is not their failure alone. The problems would not have existed in such acute forms if the Soviet Union had not failed to achieve or to practice democracy at home and abroad.

As a substitute for the slow and careful labor of the good citizen, we have tried to make ourselves impregnable. Strength, both military and economic, has become our national goal. Most public men make strength the end as well as the beginning of national policy.

But adult education should be against strength. The decade of the 1960's will be a better decade only if people seek justice and democracy rather than mere strength. This will only happen if we have an effective program of adult education.

In other words, the content of adult education must be moral as well as intellectual. To be an American may once again become a moral ambition. Americans already have the moral ambition to be good parents and good workers. Adult education should help them develop the moral ambition to be good citizens.

It would not do to stop here, in discussing adult education for citizenship, without mentioning the greatest resource we have in the U. S. A. for citizenship.

Women can and should show the way to men in this area of life. Today, because of the lengthening of the average life span, the average woman at the average age of marriage has a half-century of life ahead of her. She cannot devote all of that time to her children and her family. She must find other roles, and she has found

three major extra-family roles—those of worker, club member, and citizen. These are the only ways out of a mounting futility in the lives of modern women.

Women between the ages of 40 and 70 are an especially good target group for adult education aimed at improving citizenship, as we already know from the work of such organizations as the League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women. Women have abandoned the magazines of mediocrity which they consumed avidly a generation ago. They do not go much to the movies. Their greatest sparetime occupation is TV and radio.

It remains to be seen whether these media can be effectively used for adult education with the average woman. She offers the greatest opportunity and the greatest challenge to adult education for citizenship.

The third mood in which we may approach adult education is the mood of enjoyment, curiosity, and creativity. This is the mood of the abundant life. There would be no great value in adult education for personal competence and for social reform, if these did not result in a society where people can enjoy life—where people have the leisure, the material means, and the attitudes that enable them to live joyfully.

We live in an economy of abundance, because we have learned to produce material goods efficiently. We hope to live in a world of peace, when we learn how to conduct the political affairs of the world peacefully.

Leisure is now the property of the common man. There is no such thing as a "leisure class" any more, because every social class has leisure. There is so much leisure that we no longer need a "day of rest," and the Sabbath of the twentieth century is not a day for physical recuperation from six days of hard labor, but a part of

a weekend in which many people are more active physically than they are during their so-called working days.

Leisure is no longer simply rest, or absence of work. Leisure is recognized as a time with great potential for enjoying life. Education for leisure is education for enjoyment of life.

Some idea of the material extent of leisure is given by the data on expenditures for recreation, which in the U.S.A. increased from 3.7 per cent of total consumer expenditures in 1909 to 6 per cent in 1950. During the same period the amount of money spent on recreation increased 10-fold, and this calculation omits from recreational expenses the cost of private automobiles, of alcoholic beverages, and of foreign travel, which have increased between five and 20-fold.

Some people look askance at this increase of time and money spent in leisure activities. They doubt that men will get much of real value out of these things. Thus Harrison Brown,[2] in his forecast of life during the next century, sees a gloomy picture. He estimates that the U.S.A. will have a population of 600 million by 2050, and he believes that the problem of feeding so many people will be met by technology. But the real problem will be how to enjoy life. He says, "It will become increasingly difficult for man to isolate himself in the solitude of his own mind. . . . Yet, the problem of what to do with himself, the problem of how to occupy his time will probably be the greatest he will face. He will be lonely in the midst of his teeming neighbors and poor in the midst of his man-made riches."

People must learn to be lazy without hurting themselves. When the mass of people have a great deal of free time, it is of serious

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[2]Harrison Brown, "Life in the Americas During the Next Century." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 316. March, 1958.

social consequence what they do with it.

Education for the enjoyment of leisure may well become one of the really pressing concerns of our society in the future, just as education to produce enough nurses, doctors, engineers, and research scientists is a pressing concern of the present decade. The notion of education for joy in living must be broad and flexible. Much of the best of it will be self-taught, through reading, listening and observing. Theaters, orchestras, libraries, journals, museums and television are the educative agents, fully as much as organized classes.

In contrast with education for personal competence as worker or parent, education for enjoyment of life is more important for people past the age of 40 than for people under 40. More and more of the satisfaction of middle-aged and older people will depend on their use of leisure.

We must not be so naive as to suppose that any person who is bored with life, who has too much spare time and doesn't know what to do with himself, or any person who is bitterly lonesome and unhappy, will respond readily and happily to the first notice he gets of an adult education program which is aimed at a pleasing use of leisure. It is clear that people who are maladjusted, actually unhappy, or merely listless and apathetic generally do not know how to make a happy use of leisure, and cannot be taught easily how to do so. The most successful participants in adult education for enjoyment are those who have had a history of enjoying life.

In the studies of what people get out of their leisure, it is clear that leisure activities are a projection of a person's personality. People are most completely "themselves" in their leisure, except for a lucky group who have found work that truly expresses their personality. The adult education program for people who

know what they want from leisure can simply follow their lead.

On the other hand, for those who do not know how to enjoy life, adult education should take on a therapeutic aspect. People of this sort need to be helped to taste the fruits of well-spent leisure, to become convinced that they can enjoy life if they make the effort, and are taught to enjoy it.

Hence the adult educator who wants to help people enjoy life will find himself teaching the arts of friendship to people who do not know how to make friends. He will help people to express themselves in the arts, when they have hitherto been thoroughly inhibited. He will encourage people to make things with their hands who have never known creative activity. He will help people plan to travel who have never before enjoyed travel. He will try to interest people in gardening who have never grown flowers before.

To fit the second half of the twentieth century adult education must be an enterprise of such variety that it will meet the needs which people feel keenly for personal competence while it also makes people aware of their need for civic competence. It must help people do better in the existing society, while at the same time they are making a better society.

And it must have such a variety of moods that some people can find sheer enjoyment in certain kinds of adult education, while other people pursue other kinds of education to meet the practical and societal needs of the time.

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